352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i. e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory. which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.
302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane [293] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was *imposed on* [797] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
●585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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585 other than the bridegroom and his godfather, and the bride and her godmother, all of those seated at the table are the heads of families. At the head of the table are seated the chief and three or four others of the principal officials. Along the side of the table and immediately to the right of these officials are seated, in order, the godfather of the groom, the groom, the bride, and the godmother of the bride. The rest of the places on both sides and at the foot of the table are occupied by the heads of the families attending the feast. It should be noted that this godfather of the groom and this godmother of the bride are not usually the same as the godfather and the godmother arising from the baptismal relationship above described, but are usually persons somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsman and the bridesmaid among civilized peoples.

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585 One of these wedding feasts witnessed in 1908 proceeded as follows: After the usual church invocation, which is always pronounced at any feast, the chief took up the bowl of scrambled eggs above mentioned and personally served a spoonful to each of the four parties most closely concerned with the marriage—first to the groom, next to the bride, then to the groom's godfather, and finally to the bride's godmother. All those at the table were then at liberty to partake of the other foods of the feast. In addition to the abundance of dried meats and other foods with which the table was laden, pottery plates containing a mush made of ripe plantains and meat were served, one to each person. Everyone ate freely, except the bride and groom, who throughout

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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the morning had remained one in one room and one in another, each specially dressed for the occasion, and each with a cloth carefully bound so as to cover the mouth. The groom was attended by his godfather, the bride by her godmother, and neither conversed with any other persons. The same silence and covering of the mouth were maintained throughout the feast, and indeed throughout the remainder of the day. Toward the end of the feast, one of the officials delivered an extended address in which he exhorted the bride and groom to live peacefully and helpfully together, and outlined the paths each should follow in order to insure model married life for themselves and a useful career to the community. He especially warned the groom that under no circumstances had he any right or privilege in chastising the bride, but that in case she were to become remiss in any of her duties he was bound to report the matter to the chief or to some other official, whose duty it was to see that she was properly punished. Likewise he was warned that remissness on his part would also be met by the officials with severe castigation.

The feast being ended with the usual benediction, and the floor having been cleared, dancing was next in order. Practically all dancing among the Cayapa consists, as is elsewhere described, of a kind of shuffling step back and forth along a line in the middle of the dance floor. A single couple only participate in one of these sets, the man dancing backward, followed by the woman, and vice versa.

A feature of special note in connection with the wedding dance is the order in which the participants came

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (ni'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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585 535 In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very different from that for the ordinary dance. The marimba was not used at all, and the players of the drums and rattles did not station themselves at the end of the hall near the marimba, but each took his instrument and marched in time to the music up and down and across the hall (pl. CXXVIII). As the musicians and others thus proceeded about the hall, each man exchanged instruments, or hats or other articles of apparel, with whomsoever he met, the latter having no option in this exchange, his duty and privilege being to grasp the instrument or article of apparel from the man whom he next met. Notwithstanding this riot of fun and jollity among the musicians, they played in unison, and the dancers were able to keep their time and step perfectly.

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The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side of the room. Next each one of the eight

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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585 danced alone and in turn along a serpentine path in and
535 out of the two lines; that is to say, beginning with the bridegroom, who was at the head of the line of men, the dance proceeded as follows: He danced to the opposite side of the room, around back of the first of the women; then to the men's side of the room and around back of the first man; back again to the line of women and around back of the second woman; then to the men's line, and so on until he had completed this dancing across and back, passing each time around one member of the line, and finally had danced up the middle of the hall and had returned to his place. He was followed in the same manner by the woman opposite him, who in turn was followed by the man next in order, and so on, alternating until all the eight performers had danced in this serpentine manner and had returned to their places. Next, the first couple danced in the same manner, the man being closely followed by the woman. When they had returned to their places, the two lines danced across the room and back in the manner first described. Next, the second couple performed this movement and were followed by the dance of the lines across the room and back. The same cycle was repeated in the case of each of the two remaining couples. Finally, the eight dancers joined hands and circled three times to the right and three times to the left, there being meanwhile one drummer within the circle while the remainder of the musicians continued their
585 riotous march up and down the hall. After this, the men led the bridegroom and the women led the bride to their mosquito canopy, which had been put up in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585●

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horisontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

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Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

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Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

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The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

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At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /kuʔl/ began the work of

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> means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321).

In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several. [585]

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /tímu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed [551]

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless:

587

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /ún^{y}i/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /ún^{y}i/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls